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ABSTRACT

In successful programs for marginal youth, teachers extend their role and create bonds with their students. In the extended role, teachers interact with students in a more personal way, provide learning experiences that promote competence and success, and establish and maintain high but realistic expectations. This role requires the development of a culture in which the teacher's beliefs, values, and behaviors more closely resemble those of a professional. These hypotheses were tested in a field study of the teacher culture of four successful dropout prevention programs and involved 150 high school students and 14 teachers. In particular, the nature of student-teacher relationships, the meaning of school and schoolwork, use of time and space, decision-making, and power were investigated. Analyses of the data revealed that a common teacher culture existed among the four programs. Teachers were accorded the power to control curriculum, and had complete control over teaching methods. Curriculum content was perceived as less important than personal development, but mastery of curriculum content was viewed as a means to promote success and to give students feelings of self worth. Students were treated as individuals, both academically and personally: the extended role of the teacher allowed students and teachers to get to know each other as people. Although all of the programs had a strong leader, decisions were frequently made as a group. And finally, the teachers, who maintained collegial relationships among themselves, were relatively independent of administrative constraints. A five-page bibliography concludes the document. (KH)

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TEACHER CULTURE IN SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS FOR MARGINAL STUDENTS

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TEACHER CULTURE IN SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS FOR MARGINAL STUDENTS

This paper will discuss the findings of a field study that included four successful programs for marginal students in which a more professional teacher culture existed. This culture will be examined in five general areas: the nature of teachers' work, their knowledge and standards, their autonomy and accountability, the nature of the teacher role and the position of the students. This paper argues for the need to discover how teachers in successful programs for marginal students define and maintain a teacher culture.

Research on teaching indicates that in secondary schools most teachers share common belief and practice systems (Cusick, 1973; Lortie, 1975; Sarason, 1971). However, marginal students do not respond well to these systems and are alienated from traditional schools because they lack a bond to conventional behaviors (Hirschi, 1969). If students are to become bonded to society, the extended teacher role is of particular importance. The extended role includes treating the student as an individual and creating activities which are based on the abilities and interest of the student. Teachers who exhibit such behaviors can help students develop into responsible adult roles (Wehlage and Stone, 1982).

What is needed to be successful with marginal students is a new extended role, one which is significantly different from that played by most secondary teachers. It is necessary to study those teachers who have shown success with marginal students. It is difficult to understand and make sense of how teachers order their world. To do so the researcher

must discover the inner lives, beliefs and ideas of his/her subjects. This is done most effectively by drawing on field study research (Woods, 1983). Field study clarifies a culture by illuminating practice through observation. Formal and informal interviews discover and capture belief systems. Belief and practice are combined to describe the teacher culture which can then be compared to the belief and practice systems of the traditional secondary teacher. This will clarify the culture and role of teachers who are experiencing success in working with marginal youth. It is hypothesized that the culture in successful programs for marginal students is more professional and provides more teacher satisfaction than traditional school programs.

The Problem of Dropouts

We know that about 25% of all youth leave high school before graduating. According to Department of Public Instruction figures, the Wisconsin average has ranged from 3% to 5% per class per year, or about 20% of students over four years of high school. In Milwaukee the current rate is 11% a year, or 44% of each high school class in the city. According to the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, the dropout rate in Oregon was approximately 38% in 1981. Marginal youth are a larger group than dropouts, although dropouts are a part of marginal youth.

Most marginal youth are competent and have the ability to graduate (Elliott, 1974; Voss, 1966). However, a high percentage of them are delinquent (Hirschi, 1969, points out that 79% of delinquents are dropouts), and in general, they are in conflict with the norms and expectations of

school and society, and they have difficulty with adults and authority (Wehlage with Stone, 1982; Wehlage, Stone, and Kliebard, 1980; Hargreaves, 1967; Willis, 1977). Many problems these students have are related to family difficulties and are beyond the reach of schools.

Current Practices

Current programs tend to stress skill training, remediation and job skills, yet the literature suggests that these programs are little or no more effective than traditional schools. Taggert (1980) reports that youth employment programs have no clear impact. Other research indicates skill and job training programs have little impact until the student is 18 or over, when the variable may well be maturation (Wehlage and Stone, 1982). There is little or no evidence that job training can resolve the problem of youth who are leaving school as focus is on work, not adolescent development. The literature suggests that it is necessary to focus on school programs which aim at adolescent or personal development (Hargreaves, 1982; Weis and Hawkins, 1979; Hill, 1978; Gottfredson, 1981).

The Establishment of Teacher Culture

Most jobs are located within an "occupational culture" which includes a set of beliefs, habits, traditions, and ways of thinking, feeling and relating to others that are shared by those in the occupation (Hargreaves, 1982). To the uninitiated, this culture which is taken-for-granted by those who know, is obscure, mysterious and difficult to learn. Nevertheless, it is through this culture that occupational identities are transformed and stabilized.

A teacher culture is established by resolving a series of dilemmas: 1) teachers' knowledge and standards, 2) the nature of their work, 3) their autonomy and accountability, 4) the nature of the teacher role (extended or non-extended), and 5) the position of students (Berlak, Berlak, & Mikel, 1974; Berlak & Berlak, 1980; 1981; Hammersley & Woods, 1977; Wehlage, Stone & Kliebard, 1980; Woods, 1983). These dilemmas are not fixed, but arise from a social setting and reflect the ongoing dialectic between values and beliefs (Berlak & Berlak, 1981, p. 129). The result of the dialectic is what the Berlaks call a "transformation", or accomodation, where the dilemma is resolved, usually with emphasis on one pole, but with elements of both ends of the dilemma. Such transformations result in further definition and clarification of the teacher culture in that setting.

Professional Culture

It is hypothesized that in successful programs for marginal youth, teachers extend their role and create a bond with these youth. In the extended role teachers interact with students in a more personal way, provide learning experiences which promote competence and success, and establish and maintain high but realistic expectations. This role requires the development of a culture in which the beliefs, values and behaviors more closely resemble that of a "professional."

Professionalism is determined by the four criteria of 1) monopoly over a body of knowledge, 2) monopoly over the means of socialization, 3) a monopoly over the means of licensure, and 4) control over one's clientele

(Edelman, 1977; Friedman, 1975; Joffe, 1977).

Central Research Questions

The purpose of this research was to define the extended role and identify the elements of a more professional culture within four successful programs.

Specifically this paper seeks to: 1) identify the social settings, norms, rules, beliefs, values and satisfactions which make up the professional culture within these programs, and 2) enumerate the commonalities found in selected programs.

Culture in Most Secondary Schools

Seymour Sarason (1984) believes, and a large body of literature suggests he is correct that our society has a common view that it is best to educate all our children and to do so in a school. This almost universal agreement provides the framework through which students, teachers, and administrators view public schools. Ideas, opinions, and alternatives which are not consistent with this perspective are filtered out. Some things do not exist because this perspective does not allow them to be seen. Because this framework is so pervasive, schools, especially secondary schools, tend to be very similar. They have what Sarason (1971) calls "regularities". These are:

-students are to sit in rows.

-students can talk only after raising their hand.

-students have more than one teacher.

-students move from room to room.

-teachers sit at a desk in the front of the room.

-teachers have a pre-determined curriculum and content.

-teachers ask questions based mainly on recall.

-teachers are isolated from each other in separate classrooms.

Closely related to Sarason's regularities are the structural-cultural characteristics of a secondary school as described by Cusick (1975). He lists nine:

-Subject matter specialization

-Vertical organization.

-The concept of adolescent inferiority.

-Communication flows down the organization.

-Batch processing of students.

-Routinization.

-Dependence on roles, rules, codes, and guides.

-Presentation of a future reward system.

-A physical structure that makes the above possible.

The regularities identified by Sarason and Cusick lead to a common teacher culture. In this culture, teachers share common beliefs, values, assumptions, behaviors and a high degree of psychological and physical isolation. Most teachers believe in subject matter specialization; value order, quiet and authority; and, assume all students can be taught in the same way. What the dominant teacher culture says is "don't disturbe regularities." Teachers exhibit and expect behaviors which conform to this maxim.

This culture is remarkably standard in most schools. A review of the literature revealed beliefs and practices found in this culture (Cusick, 1973, 1983; Eddy, 1969; Gracey, 1972; Hargreaves, 1972, 1982; Jackson, 1968; Lacey, 1977; Lortie, 1973, 1975; Metz, 1978, 1984; Sarason, 1971; Schofield, 1982; Swidler, 1979; Waller, 1932; Wolcott, 1977; Woods, 1983).

Beliefs

Common beliefs exist about students, teaching, knowledge and schools. Table 1 specifies the commonalities.

Insert Table 1 about here

Common practices exist for school organization, the treatment of students, teacher behavior in classroom, teachers as content specialists, and teachers as subordinates. Table 2 specifies common practices.

Insert Table 2 about here

In reality teachers' beliefs and practices cannot be separated; they interact and influence each other. Figure 1 illustrates the interaction. The basic beliefs teachers hold about students and schooling have a dramatic affect on their practice. Practice, in turn, reinforces

the belief system.

Insert Figure 1 about here

This reinforcement form within the system provides little opportunity to introduce new regularities. Little new information related to beliefs and practices is available. Therefore the system tends to remain conservative and highly resistant to change.

Research indicates that traditional settings may be different from successful dropout prevention settings. Berlak and Berlak (1981) and Hammersley (1977) studied mainstream teachers in order to illuminate and clarify the teacher role.

They hypothesized that all teachers must resolve a common set of dilemmas to be able to assume the teacher role. Teachers were presented with a set of dilemmas (Table 3) and asked how they would resolve the conflict. Subsequently the teachers were observed to determine if practice was congruent with their stated positions. The studies showed that these dilemmas must be resolved.

Insert Table 3 about here

Wehlage, Stone and Kliebard (1980) used a set of similar dilemmas to study teacher decision making in four traditional high schools. The dilemmas are presented in Table 4.

Insert Table 4 about here

The right hand side of the dilemmas reflects traditional beliefs and practices; the left hand side of the dilemma is non-traditional. Again teachers were asked in interviews to resolve the dilemmas and were then observed to see if practices were consistent with beliefs.

Their research found that a strong "right side" resolution of these dilemmas was likely to be accompanied by a high dropout factor. They also found that when "left side" or non-traditional resolutions were made, marginal students were more likely to succeed. That non-traditional resolutions will be more successful with marginal students seems to be common sense.

If most high school teachers and administrators resolve educational dilemmas with an emphasis on "right side," or traditional resolutions which foster dropping out, then it can be hypothesized that teachers who resolve educational dilemmas in directions of public accountability, subjective authority structure, extended educational responsibility and diverse work and standards would be more attractive to marginal youth. Teachers would be more student-centered, and would emphasize diversity, flexibility, and the individual. Educational standards and experiences would be more varied. They would have more control regarding educational matters and have more personal relationships with students. In this sense teachers would have a more professional role.

Social Bonding

The nature of the student-teacher relationship appears to be of particular importance in the more professional role. When teachers can create a bond with students, that promotes personal development of the

student, success in school and ultimately transition to adulthood. This idea was first generated by Hirschi (1969) in his research on delinquents. His theory assumes that delinquent acts occur when an individual's bond to society is weak or broken. An individual who is not bonded to society does not share society's norms, and therefore freely deviates. Hirschi found that 79% of delinquent youth are either dropouts or potential dropouts (p. 121), therefore his research applies to marginal students. Brennan, Huizinga and Elliott, 1978; and Elliott and Voss, 1974, support this assumption.

Hirschi argues that bonding to a society occurs with developmental processes in which youth must make and hold a bond with an adult in a responsible position. This process progresses through three stages; it consists of bonding with the family, attachment to the school, and finally acceptance of a society governed by law. Brennan, et al, 1978; Glasser, 1972; Gottfredson, 1981; Wehlage, et al, 1980; Weis and Hawkins and Wiatrowski and Swatko, 1979 support this theory.

Often marginal students have not made a significant bond with the family (Brennan, et al, 1978; Hirschi, 1969; Wiatrowski & Swatko, 1981). If it is vital that a bond to the conventional order be created (Cohen, 1971; Gottfredson, 1981; Newmann, 1981; Oliver, 1976; Wehlage, 1981a, 1982) then the most logical place for this bonding to occur is the school. Recent research indicates that this may be more of an influence than previously thought (Weis & Hawkins, 1979).

How can the bond between the marginal student and the school be promoted? The literature suggests clearly that teachers in successful programs for marginal students extend themselves beyond the traditional role to occupy

the role previously described as an extended role. Lipsky (1980), Weis and Hawkins and Wehlage call for teachers to provide learning situations which develop student competence and to allow success while maintaining high, but realistic expectations. Brennan, et al, suggest teachers adopt a nurturing role, which leads to legitimate social roles and feelings of positive self-worth for students.

If teachers who are successful with marginal students adopt an extended role as the literature suggests, will they resolve educational dilemmas in a left sided or non-traditional way? It is hypothesized that teachers who are successful with marginal students who have adopted an extended role will resolve educational dilemmas in a left sided or non-traditional way; a way which promotes bonding with the students.

Methodology/Procedures

Research Approach

This research was conducted using a field study approach. Field study is most appropriate when studying dynamic events and interactions. Field study provides a variety of information and several ways of perceiving events. One of these is to provide descriptive data. In Man in the Principal's Office, Harry Wolcott provides a description of a "typical" school. He makes no attempt to generalize other than to describe the setting and person as typical. One might argue that the researcher discovers truth, at least the truth as he/she sees it, and gives it to the reader. Wolcott does not tell us that the principal, Ed Bell, is generalizable, but by making sure he and his school are typical we can recall our own

school experience and say, "Yes, it's really like that." Similarly, Wehlage (1981b) argues that the reader actively participates by reading the data, and then makes his/her own generalization.

This study was an attempt to understand and describe the teacher culture of four successful dropout prevention programs. In particular the nature of student-teacher relationships, the meaning of school and schoolwork, use of time and space, decision making, and power were investigated. Due to the dynamic nature of the environment and the high degree of interaction in the research setting, it was appropriate to use a field study methodology.

Subjects and Setting

The subjects in this research were 150 students and 14 teachers from four successful programs for preventing dropouts among marginal youth. The students ranged in age from 14 to 19 with the majority being 16 and 17. There were almost equal numbers of males and females. Almost all where white. Almost all had average ability. Specific statistics regarding race and ability were not available because of student mobility and confidentiality. All students had a history of credit deficiency and poor attendance. Student self-reports revealed family problems, behavior problems in and out of school, and often a history of drug or alcohol abuse.

The teachers were all white. They ranged in age from 24 to 62. There were ten men and four women. All but one had at least three years teaching experience prior to their participation in the programs. Their backgrounds were primarily traditional subject area teachers. One had been a counselor,

one a grade school teacher, one is a special education teacher, and one came from a learning disabilities background.

The programs were all located in the upper middle-west. One was located in a medium sized city, two in small manufacturing cities, and one was located in a village of 4,000. Three programs were housed in traditional high school buildings. The remaining program was located in a grade school.

Career development and job skills were strong components in the three programs, while the fourth program focused on re-entry into the traditional curriculum.

Programs selected:

-were in operation for at least three years.

-provided documentation of ability to attract and retain students.

-presented evidence of student progress such as students gained credits, returned to and were successful in traditional curricula, graduated, found and held a job, or completed their education in a vocational school or by GED.

-presented evidence of improved student behavior and improved attendance.

-were viewed as successful by other teachers and administrators, i.e., the programs had a good reputation.

All programs and therefore subjects, were participants in a much larger study carried out by the Wisconsin Center for Education Research. As part of this learger study this researcher was granted permission to study these students, teachers and programs. All names of teachers used here are pseudonyms.

Methods of Data Collection

Participant observation. Teachers and students were observed in actual program settings including classrooms, cafeterias, field trips, and faculty meetings. The same observer (myself) collected data from all settings. Field notes were recorded in descriptive form. Large margins were left on the right side of the notes so editorial comments and questions could be entered.

Semi-structured biographic interviews (L. Spindler, ND). These extended semi-structured interviews focused on teacher beliefs, values, norms and role perceptions and were conducted with all teachers. These interviews were open-ended. Semi-structured interviews were given to half of the students. These interviews focused on the individuals past history, future goals, and the students perception of teachers and teaching.

Structured interviews. All teachers responded to an instrument focusing on the resolution of selected dilemmas (see Table 3).

Informal interview. Unstructured informal interviews were conducted with teachers, students, administrators, counselors and job supervisors. The purpose of these interviews was to elicit pertinent information not anticipated by investigation to validate and check against biases or misperceptions (Carew & Lightfoot, 1979; McDonald, 1974).

Analysis of contextual data. Much additional data was available at each site in the form of yearly evaluations, announcements, memos, curricula, lesson plans, newsletters, social events, and team and faculty meetings.

This was used to flesh out information on the faculty culture and provided data on program history, curriculum, and the impact of the administration.

Field Procedures

Observation began on the first day of the spring semester, 1982 so the induction of new students could be observed. I was introduced as a researcher from the University, and was a passive observer. Teachers often asked if enough information was available, and of their own accord provided lesson plans, program newsletters and memos. In addition to classroom activities faculty and team meetings were observed. After six to eight weeks patterns began to emerge. Data was coded according to these patterns. New questions developed which my original orienting questions did not answer fully (see Spradley, 1979).

For the following six weeks the time was spent gathering new observations, but the primary task was interviewing students and interviewing each faculty member.

In the structured faculty interview, which asked teachers to resolve dilemmas (Table 4) teachers face, dilemmas were hypothesized in five areas: about teachers knowledge and standards, about the nature of their work, about their autonomy and accountability, about the nature of their role (extended or non-extended), and about the position of the students. These dilemmas were useful in uncovering certain aspects of the teacher role. However, semi-structured biographical interviews revealed others, which further clarified the teacher role and the nature of teachers' work. These new dilemmas (Table 5) were used to organize later interviews and observations.

Insert Table 5 about here

The last six weeks in the schools were a combination of further observation, interviews, with an emphasis on interviewing administrators, counselors and job supervisors about the history and effects of the program. Some of this was not completed until the middle of the summer because grades and credits were not available unti then.

Results

Literature suggested that the teacher culture in programs for marginal students would be more successful if dilemmas were resolved on the left side. Analysis of four such programs show that this is the case. Combining all the teachers in the study, clear resolution is toward the left (Figure 2). Also teachrs in each program came to similar positions. In programs where it was not always the case, there was pressure to find a common teacher culture. All the teachers involved in this study were similar because their definition of the role of a teacher differed significantly from that of a traditional teacher.

Insert Figure 2 about here

The Teacher Culture in Programs for Marginal Students

Using the five categories of teachers knowledge and standards, the nature of work, autonomy and accountability, the nature of their role and

the position and role of students, the following general conclusions about the teacher culture in programs for marginal students can be reached.

Teachers want to be able to apply rules and discipline in a flexible individualistic way. Teachers believe grades should be based on individual progress. Teacher knowledge is based on a wide range of activities and experiences, not subject matter. Helping students overcome personal problems and enhancing personal growth and development are more important goals than teaching subject matter.

> When I was in high school I wanted to be a psychiatrist, and the counselor laughed. I'm as close as I can be, but I use the textbooks instead of a couch. I camoflage therapy around a math book--maybe it's survival on my part; I'm weakest when trying to teach a concept and best one-to-one with a kid trying to confront a conflict. I like to see them solve personal problems and grow as people--academics is fluffy whipped cream on top of the cake.
>
> (Pat O'Brien)

The perception of knowlege and standards suggests that students are viewed as individuals who should be treated as such.

> Most of my teaching life (7 years) I was a subject specialist although my relationship with the kids gave me as much satisfaction as the academic work. Here I see the individual needs more, so at this point I'm more person than subject oriented.
>
> (Nate Wilson)

Regarding accountability and autonomy, there is widespread agreement that teachers are more responsible for student success than are students. There is some disagreement whether faculty judgment or community needs should be primary, and teachers resolve this dilemma by stating educators

are responsible for student development and need to retain power over how and what to teach, but with advice from the outside community. Teachers in programs with job skills components tend to be more oriented toward the community. Teacher responsibility also includes providing demanding expectations of students, expectations which also have to be realistic and reachable.

> I have to respond to individuals, but the expectations have to be clear. This makes it easier for them to function. It lends stability to their lives. I have to take into account their needs and deficiencies then work closely with them--cajole, threaten, praise.
>
> (Jane Hobson)

The job of teaching is seen as helping students develop as people, often through useful skill oriented subject matter. Preparation for jobs is regarded as more important than subject matter.

> We want to bring kids closer to the mainstream, both social and vocational. The emphasis is not academic, but vocational.
>
> (Pat O'Brien)

Student success in school is regarded as gratifying to teachers, but student personal development is more gratifying. It is more quickly and easily observed. One dramatic example of this was provided by Tina. A shy, withdrawn girl with straight black hair and shapeless clothes. Tina avoided other students, and sat alone at the back of the classroom. Misclassified as a learning disabled student, she was transferred to the program when it was discovered she was capable, but simply refused to do school work. The teachers in the program helped her gain academic success, and then found her a job at the public library where "the ladies would

mother her, and teach her how to act and dress." Within five weeks a transformation had indeed taken place: Tina's hair was styled and her clothes were more attractive. Most importantly, Tina now sat in front of the classroom, participating in discussions and taling animatedly with a group of friends. The goal was not so much academic success as personal development. The teachers delighted in showing her off to any visitors who happened by. Personal development and orientation toward work become the dominant aspects of the teacher role in contrast to subject matter specialist, the rewards and satisfactions of the job are significantly different from the traditional culture.

> We have autonomy, we don't have to deal with a bureaucratic structure. We have personal power over the curriculum, our jobs, things that affect kids' lives.
>
> (Pat O'Brien)

> To me it's the top, I enjoy the decision making and like the control I have. It would be hard to lose that. I don't know if I could do it. I don't know if I'd still be teaching in high school--I'd probably be doing something different which gives me some of this.
>
> (Jane Hobson)

> I've been lucky, I haven't struck out on anything. It's helped maintain my idealism. I'm told I'm good at what I do; I do a good job. It's enhanced my role as a professional.
>
> (Linda Turner)

The teacher role in these programs indicates that teachers feel they should have control over the curriculum, time and space, rules and discipline and that they do have an extended role with students. For some teachers, especially those within high schools, some of these factors are beyond the control of teachers. They could not, for example, change

the seven or eight period day.

That common resolutions to a series of dilemmas have been developed by several groups of teachers isolated from one another geographically, and basically unaware of each others' existence supports the view that to have success with marginal students, the resolutions to the dilemmas must be resolved on the left-side. More interesting is the fact that a common role and set of beliefs has developed from a group with very divergent backgrounds. Two of the thirteen teachers were previously elementary teachers, two are from special education, the nine remaining teachers came from a variety of subject area specialties and a traditional high school background. Yet all, with one major exception, accept a significantly different set of beliefs and actions than the mainstream teacher culture. These beliefs and practices are represented in Table 6.

Insert Table 6 about here

Teachers as Professionals

The beliefs and practices of teachers in programs for marginal students are not variants of those in a traditional teacher culture. They are distinctively different and create an alternate culture. Within this culture is a new role for teachers, one which is more professional. Professionalism is determined by four criteria: 1) monopoly over a body of knowledge, 2) monopoly over the means of socialization, 3) a monopoly over the means of licensure, and 4) control over one's clientel (Edelman, 1977; Friedman, 1975; Joffe, 1977). Teachers in an extended role do not

have control over licensure,and to some extent over a body of knowledge. But teachers in these programs do have control over the means of socialization and over their clientel. In addition they have both the power and authority to decide about methods, curriculum, standards, knowledge and the position of the student. They are more professional because there is often collegiality and cooperative decision making. These teachers express that they are in a cooperative endeavor, working together toward mutually agreed upon goals.

> We're accountable here. I enjoy decision making--we do it jointly. I like the control.
>
> (Jane Hobson)

The culture is also more professional in that it allows teachers to act in ways which provide different and more personal satisfaction from their jobs. To most, teaching content is not most satisfying, neither is graduation, or a student getting a good job and holding it. These are all important, but the primary source of satisfaction is seeing students develop as people.

> I get a great deal of satisfaction because I can see progress and I have had an influence on a kid's life. In this kind of teaching you have more effect. It's prolonged my teaching career. If teachers were in education to accomplish something and help mankind, they'd be here.
>
> (Jim Jamison)

The extended role which teachers assume in these programs is probably the most important factor in assisting and promoting the personal development of students.

The extended role has wide variation, but does contain common elements. It asks teachers to be interested in the personal life of the student. For

some teachers this virtually meant being on call. For others it was an interest which did not extend much further than the school day. Teachers also acted as counselors, helping students over both academic and personal problems.

> I like the trusing and mutual respect, a positive feeling toward each other, almost being a friend. And it goes beyond that with many students. I'll pick them up and take them to a job interview, or chat on the street--but only for some. I'm not their parents, I can exercise the parent/child role. I also have to be strong enough to discipline them when I have to. I'm really dealing with the person--at times I feel like a missionary, saving kids from a variety of problems.
>
> (Nate Wilson)

> I'm a combination of teacher, counselor and a friend, a qualified friend, perceived as one who can be trusted--who gives guidance and advice.
>
> (Linda Turner)

The role requires teachers to have expectations for students. These expectations are very demanding in that they require behaviors which most of these students have found difficult to perform. Coming to school on time and doing homework are new and demanding behaviors to someone who has not done it before. Expectations must be realistic, however. Students cannot be expected to reach far beyond their grasp.

Student Bonding to Teachers

It is the extended role which allows students to form a bond to conventional and responsible adult behavior. There are four elements of a bond (Hirschi, 1969). These are: commitment, involvement, attachment and belief. Commitment means that a person invests time, energy, and him/herself in an activity. Students in these programs do this. They

come to school and participate. Involvement means engrossment in conventional activities. Students do this through completing school work, and in several of the programs through success on the job. These first two elements are necessary before attachment and belief can be attained. Attachment means a link to other people and internalization of norms. The programs studied showed that most, if not all students, had an attachment to one or more teachers, and usually to the other students in the program. Whether or not norms were internalized is difficult to determine. Self reports from the students indicate that norms were internalized. They used fewer drugs, drank less, rejected former deviant peer groups, and got along with adults better. Finally, the last element of a bond is belief. At the belief stage, the student accepts the moral validity of norms and social rules. Again it was difficult to observe this phenomenon but there is evidence that this occured. Administrators and teachers reported far fewer discipline problems. There were few conflicts with the law while the students were in the programs even though many of these students had been delinquents. This may be because of bonding, or it may be because of simple maturation. Students did demonstrate commitment, involvement, and attachment. As one teacher observed, "I don't care if they really believe in acting this way, I just want them to do it. If they practice it long enough, maybe they will come to believe it."

Common Elements of Programs for Marginal Students

Analysis of data revealed that a common teacher culture existed among the four programs. All the programs were small. Student and teacher participants were volunteers, however, students were required to make a

commitment to the program.

Teachers were accorded the power to control the curriculum including what constituted knowledge, what credits were to be given for what, and what rules and standards were to be determined. In one case, issues of rules and discipline were shared with the students. Teachers also had complete control over teaching methods, although the methods used were usually similar to those used by teachers in traditional programs.

Curriculum content was perceived as less important than personal development. However, mastery of curriculum content was viewed as a means to promote success and to give students feelings of self worth and curriculum allowed teachers to express their expectations of students, which was designed to enhance personal development, and promote socialization into adulthood. Curriculum was viewed by students as a way to accomodate to adults, get through school, and graduate. Since most students had not done considerable school work before, assignments had to be reasonable.

Students were treated as individuals, both academically and personally. Grades and discipline were individualized, not based on some normative standard. The extended role of the teacher allowed students and teachers to know each other as people.

Although teachers were allowed some control over time and space, they rarely changed the arrangements of rooms or schedule of classes. In most instances teachers were allowed common planning time, which led to cooperation and joint decision making.

All of the programs had a strong leader. This person was the dominant force, although in some programs another individual was almost as strong. Even though there was a strong leader, decisions were frequently made as

a group, especially when it was an important decision. This was an element which many teachers especially enjoyed.

Teaching in these programs is public in nature; not a solitary process behind a closed door. It is cooperative with joint goals. Teachers maintain a collegial relationship.

All the teachers acted out an extended role. This role allowed the teachers to be successful with students. The role had a great deal of variability, but it always was characterized by trust, respect, and caring. This role allowed the students to bond with the teachers.

Finally, the teachers were relatively independent of administrative constraints. They were much like the teacher in a one room school house who is teacher, principal and superintendent. The administration provided the resources and let the teachers alone. They were dependent on the school for resources, and ultimately were responsible to the school hierarchy, but in day-to-day action they are independent actors. As one superintendent stated: "After all, no one else has had success with these students, and if these teachers can do it, then let them alone except when they ask for help."

Limitations of the Study

There are two limitations of this study: limited generalizability of results due to methodology, and inadvertant mistakes made by the researcher. These four programs appear to be typical of successful programs for marginal students, however any conclusions or generalizations drawn from them will be very limited and individualistic. Previous research suggests

the findings are characteristice of many programs; the findings may not be characteristic of programs in large urban centers or of programs geared toward minority youth.

Implications

This study indicated that there can be a teacher culture which is more professional and leads not only to teacher satisfaction, but to an extended role which is successful with marginal students. It would be useful to study new programs to see how the teacher culture is created, and how it adapts to the traditional teacher culture.

TABLE 1

TRADITIONAL BELIEFS

BELIEFS

About Students

All students should be educated in a school (compulsory education).

Adolescents are assumed to be inferior to adults.

Students are perceived as classes, not as individuals.

Students are responsible for learning material.

About Teaching

Teachers are content area specialists and identify with that specialty.

Teachers are responsible for discipline and behavior in their classes.

Teachers have authority over methods, content specialty, and rewards and standards for students.

Teachers are responsible for motivating students through their content and methods.

Teachers' main commitment is to their students, not to other adults.

Teaching is an individual activity.

About Knowledge

The acquisition of positive knowledge is or can be made interesting and appealing to all students.

Knowledge is standardized, sequenced in a progression, and can be measured.

About Schools as Institutions and Schools in Society

Teachers are equal in status to one another; they have no authority over each other.

(Table continued next page)

(Table 1, continued)

Teachers believe society resists educational change; therefore they are reluctant to initiate change.

Individual teachers in schools are impotent; they have little power.

Schools should be efficient and orderly.

Controversy should be avoided.

TABLE 2

TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

PRACTICES

School Organization

Schools are egg crate structures which separate teachers and subject areas from each other. For example, the science rooms are in a different wing than the art rooms. Each cell in the egg crate is a separate classroom with a desk in front for the teacher and rows of seats facing it for students.

Schools are organized in a hierarchical order with downward communication.

Schools are organized around a time schedule which allows little time for other than dyadic questioning and little time for interaction.

Schools are loosely coupled; the organization has few levels and a few superordinates have authority over many subordinates. The result is that teachers are rarely supervised and act independently.

Each day is similar to each other; much like a factory lockstep.

Rules are routinized and uniformly applied.

Content is organized in courses in serial order (i.e., French 1, French 2) with the study of several different subjects each day.

Treatment of Students

Students are spectators; they are expected to be quiet and orderly and not ask questions which go beyond immediate subject matter.

Students are batch processed for efficiency. They move from room to room and subject to subject as batches.

Students are stereotyped as groups; they are not thought of as individuals.

Students are age grouped, therefore teachers tend to teach particular aged students and particular subjects, i.e., sophomores all learn geometry.

(Table continued next page)

(Table 2, continued)

Teachers in Classrooms

Teachers are physically and temporarily isolated from each other, therefore there is little cooperative planning, joint decision making and coordination.

Teachers withhold personal involvement from students. They teach content, not students.

Teachers act as autonomous individuals, within the larger set of teacher norms they are free to do as they please in the classroom.

Teachers commitments are to teaching material to students.

Teachers control classroom behavior, standards, and rewards.

Teachers as Content Specialists

As content specialists, teachers "cover positive knowledge."

Teachers control methodology. It usually consists of lecturing, seat-work, recitation, discussion, demonstration and small group work.

Teachers as Superordinates

Content is often controlled by superordinate professionals, therefore there is a division between the conception and execution of work.

Teachers are in charge of discipline and behavior, but are subordinate to others.

Teachers do not control educational tools and resources: they must rely on others and have limited control.

TABLE 3

BERLAK AND BERLAK DILEMMAS

Some educators believe they have an obligation to make sure that their students are successful.	Other educators believe that it is the students who have an obligation to themselves to make sure they are successful.
Some educators believe that what goes on in the school should be in direct response to the needs and interests found in the community.	Other educators believe what goes on in the school should reflect the professional judgment of the school's faculty.
Some educators believe that rules and enforcement must be flexible.	Other educators believe that and rule enforcement must be consistent.
Some educators believe it is fair to make accomodations for the student's special and idiosyncratic characteristics.	Other educators believe that their first responsibility is to teach subject matter.
Some educators believe that grades should be based on individual progress, regardless of how the student compares to other students.	Other educators believe students should be graded by the same standards and according to how they compare to other students.
Some educators believe the academic standards should be lowered if a large proportion of students cannot meet them.	Other educators believe that it is important to maintain high academic standards even if a large proportion of students cannot meet them.
Some educators believe that schools should put most of their emphasis on preparation for a job.	Other educators believe that schools should put most of their emphasis on preparation for college.
Some educators get the most satisfaction out of seeing students overcome significant personal problems.	Other educators get the most satisfaction out of seeing students excel in academic subject matter.
Some educators believe that schools should provide a wide range of academic and non-academic opportunities for students.	Other educators believe that schools should restrict their program to academic subject matter.

TABLE 4

WEHLAGE, KLIEBARD AND STONE
DILEMMAS

Public Accountability	vs.	Professional Autonomy
Subjective Authority Structure	vs.	Objective Authority Structure
Extended Educational Responsibility	vs.	Specialized Educational Responsibility
Diverse Work and Standards	vs.	Common Work and Stanuards

TABLE 5

NEWLY DEVELOPED TEACHER DILEMMAS

Some educators believe teachers should control the curriculum (including content and materials).	Other educators believe administrators should control the curriculum (including content and materials).
Some educators believe teachers should control time and scheduling.	Other educators believe administrators should control time and scheduling.
Some educators believe teachers should set rules and discipline procedures.	Other educators believe that administrators should set rules and discipline procedures.
Some educators believe that teachers should have an extended role (student-oriented).	Other educators believe that teachers should be content specialists.

TABLE 6

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN ALTERNATIVE AND TRADITIONAL PROGRAMS

Alternative Teacher Culture	Traditional Teacher Culture
BELIEFS	
About Students	
Students should be educated in a variety of settings.	Students should be educated in school.
Students are more equal to adults.	Students are inferior to adults.
Students are seen as individuals.	Students are seen as batches or classes.
Students are partly responsible for their own learning.	Students are responsible for their own learning.
About Teachers	
Teachers teach the whole student.	Teachers are content specialists.
There is a group responsibility for discipline and behavior.	Teachers are responsible for discipline and behavior in their own class.
Teachers have authority over discipline and behavior	Teachers have authority over teaching methods, rewards and standards
Teachers motivate students through a more adult relationship.	Teachers motivate students through course content.
A teachers' commitment is to students and other teachers in the program.	A teachers' commitment is to students.
Teaching is a public and group activity.	Teaching is an individual and private activity.
About Knowledge	
Positive knowledge is a vehicle for students to achieve self development.	Positive knowledge is interesting to all students.

(Table continued next page)

(Table 6, continued)

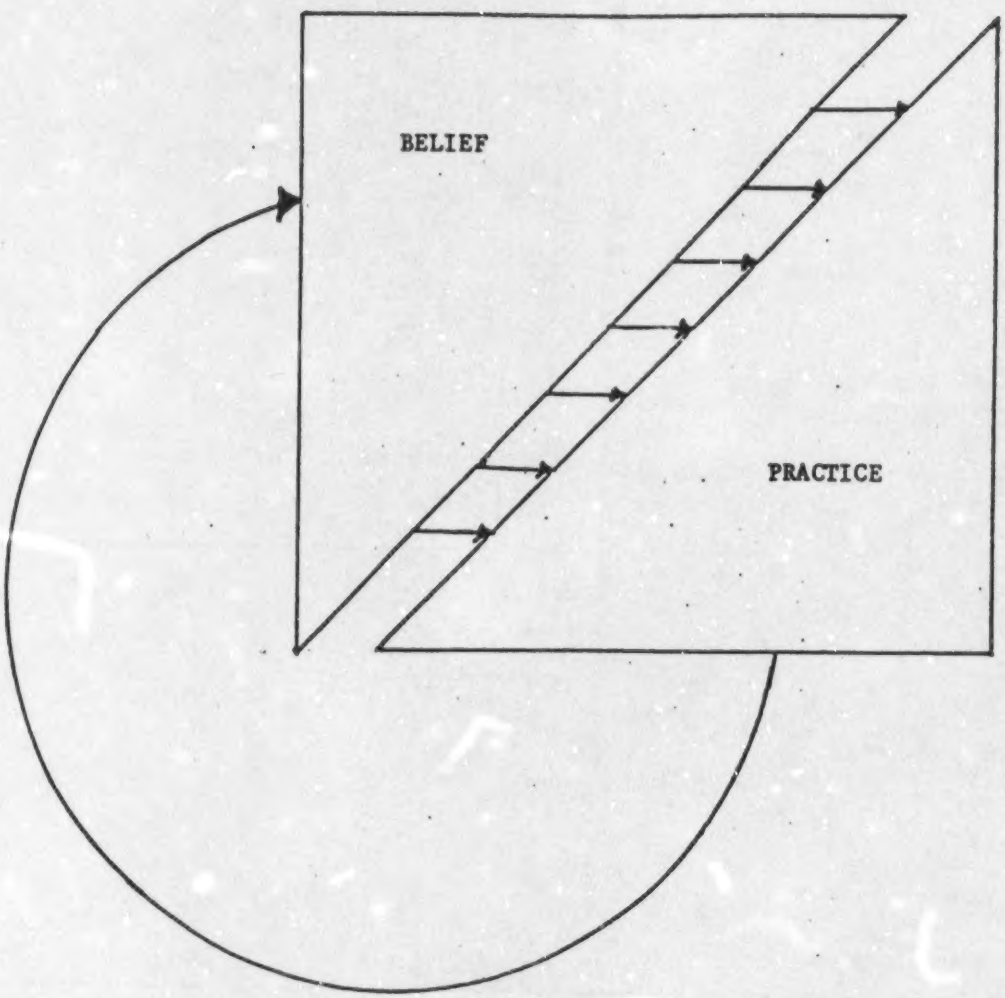
Knowledge is problematic and is measured by individual progress.	Knowledge is standardized, sequenced, and can be measured.
<u>About Schools as Institutions</u>	
All teachers are equal, although there may be a first among equals. They follow the group norms.	All teachers are equal, they can do what they want within the larger culture.
Teachers can initiate change.	Society resists change, therefore schools do not change.
Schools do not have to be as they are.	Schools should be orderly and efficient so knowledge can be transmitted.
Controversy can be positive.	Controversy should be avoided.
PRACTICE	
<u>School Organization</u>	
Schooling can take place in different settings.	Schools are egg-crate structures.
Schools can be cooperative	Schools have a hierarchical structure
Programs may have an inflexible time schedule.	Schools have an inflexible time schedule.
"Public" teaching brings about close coupling within the program.	Schools are loosely coupled.
Each day is often similar.	Each day is similar.
Rules are flexible.	Rules are routinized.
Content is often in a development hierarchy.	Content is in serial order.
<u>Treatment of Students</u>	
Students act as participants.	Students act as spectators.
Students are individuals.	Students are batch processed.
Students are individuals.	Students are stereotyped.

(Table continued next page)

(Table 6, continued)

Students are of mixed age or are ability grouped.	Students are age-grouped.
Teachers in Classrooms	
Teachers are in close proximity, and cooperate with each other.	Teachers are physically isolated and cooperate little with each other.
Teachers are personally involved with students.	Teachers withhold personal involvement with students.
Teachers commitment is to personal development of students.	Teachers commitment is to teaching material.
Teachers collectively control behavior, standards, rewards, and curriculum.	Teachers individually control behavior, standards, and rewards.
Teachers as Content Specialists	
Teachers engage in personal development	Teachers cover positive knowledge
Teachers control methodology.	Teachers control methodology.

FIGURE 1



Teacher Culture: the Interaction of Belief and Practice

FIGURE 2 : TEACHER RESOLUTION OF DILEMMAS

ALL TEACHERS

LEFT SIDE DECISIONS	Always	Sometimes	Sometimes	Always	RIGHT SIDE DECISIONS
1. Educators responsible	XXXXXXX	XXX X	XX		Students responsible
2. Community needs	XXXXXX	X	XXX	XXX	Faculty judgment
3. Rules flexible	XXXXXXXX XX		XX	X	Rules consistent
4. Make accomodations	XXXXXXXX XXXXX				Treat students alike
5. Teach persons	XXXXXXXX X	XX X	X		Teach subject matter
6. Personal problems	XXXXXXXX XX	X X X			Subject matter
7. Grades on progress	XXXXXXXX XX	X X	X		Grades on the same standard
8. Lower standards	XXXXXXXX XXXX	X			Maintain standards
9. Job preparation	XXXXXXXX	XXX X X			College preparation
10. Wide range of experiences	XXXXXXXX XXXXX				Subject matter
11. Teachers control curriculum	XXXXXXXX XXX	XX			Administrators control curriculum
12. Teachers control time	XXX	XXXXXXX	XX		Administrators control time
13. Teachers set rules and discipline	XXXXXXXX XXX	X	X		Administrators set rules and discipline
14. Extended role	XXXXXXXX XXXXX				Content specialist

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